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A N T I C I P A T I O N

OF THE

Freedom of Brabant, &c.

ANTICIPATION

OF THE
FREEDOM OF BRABANT

THE REVOLUTION

As the people of this country

ANTICIPATION



OF THE
FREEDOM OF BRABANT

Freedom of Brabant &c.

ANTICIPATION 1792
OF THE
FREEDOM OF BRABANT,
WITH
THE EXPULSION
OF THE
Austrian Troops from that Country;
WITH SOME
REMARKS
ON THE
FUTURE EXTENSION
OF THE
FRENCH FRONTIER TO THE RHINE:

Investigated according to the Principles laid down in the Works of
GENERAL LLOYD.

TOGETHER WITH SOME
MILITARY OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
Late intended March of the Duke of Brun-
swick to Paris.

By *MAJOR GEORGE HANGER.*

L O N D O N:
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IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE FIRST JUDICIAL DISTRICT OF FLORIDA
IN AND FOR THE COUNTY OF ALACHSA

12 JUL 1954

There is a small lake in the valley of the river.

3. Being ordered I have signed this document

[Faint, illegible handwritten notes]


 UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

...and the ... of the French ...



INTRODUCTION.

I SHOULD make this Pamphlet too large were I to transcribe every one of the military maxims and rules by which I have been guided in writing the following Pages, which our celebrated General lays down both for an *offensive* and *defensive* war, and relative to the *line of operation* and the *line of communication* which every General not only ought, but must positively maintain between his army and his *Depots*, which, if he does not secure, must ultimately terminate in his disgrace and retreat. Therefore, I shall content myself with extracting a few, the most essential to be attended to, from those Works, which must ever immortalize that General in the mind of every intelligent military Reader, and request them, for further information as to the imagined loss of Brabant to the Austrians, and the extension of the French Fron-

tier as far as to the River Rhine, to turn to that Officer's Works, and, with the GREATEST ATTENTION, peruse from page 133 to page 149, vol. II. in which are contained his remarks and instructions on the *line of operation, an offensive war, and a defensive war*. Also page 151 and 152, in which are some short remarks on Frontier Lines in general; and page 152 to page 161, in which are comprised that General's Description of the whole Frontier Line of France.

LLOYD, Vol. II. Page 160.

WE have already shewn that France has *great advantages* in attacking Flanders, from the proximity of its Depots, which are greatly increased by the Austrian Line of Operation from Vienna to Brussels, which makes it *impossible* for them to preserve that country. It was, no doubt, owing to *this circumstance* chiefly, if not entirely, that the House of Austria could not preserve Alsace, Franche Comté, and Lorrain, which *finally will bring on the loss of Flanders*.

LLOYD, Vol. II. Page 157.

THE event of the different wars waged in Flanders proves the superiority of the French (I mean the superior advantages they possess in acting on that frontier), which are indeed *so very great*, that no forces can be collected and supported in Flanders by the House of Austria, the English, Dutch, and the German Princes, which can preserve that country from the efforts of the French. Most certainly the Austrians *alone cannot* do it.

LLOYD,

LLOYD, Vol. II. Page 133, 134, 136, 137.

OF THE LINE OF OPERATIONS.

THE Tartars neither have, nor want depots; by the rapidity of their motions they must and do find every thing on the spot. But when we penetrate, with our great and very heavy armies, into an enemy's country, it is with a view to conquer some provinces, fortresses, &c. and finding nothing upon the road to subsist upon, we have fixed and determined points to lodge our stores and provisions, from whence they are transported to the army, which must proceed from those given points to other fixed and determined points in the enemy's country, if you carry on an offensive war; or from a given point in your own, towards another on the frontiers, if you are on the defensive.

The line which unites these points, on which every army must act, is called *the line of operation*; and, of all those we have mentioned, is the most important. For on the good or bad choice of this line the final event of the war chiefly depends. If it is ill chosen, all your successes, however brilliant, will, in the end, be found useless.

It is impossible to collect and maintain a sufficient number of horses, carriages, &c. to supply an army of fifty or sixty thousand men, including those who follow the camp, with provisions, stores, forage, &c. and to supply the convoy, drivers, &c. in their journey to and from the camp, two hundred miles, we suppose, which cannot be performed in less than twenty days. I am so convinced myself of this, that if you place twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, on any spot, so that they subsist only upon what is brought from one given point, a hundred miles off, they must in a week go and meet their convoy, disperse, or perish.

Now, if to these natural and insurmountable difficulties, you add those which an able leader can create by acting on the principles we have established above, it will appear evident, beyond contradiction, that no army, great or small, can act in a line of operation of a hundred miles, provided you can keep the field; of course you must avoid a general action.

That the direction of your line be such that the enemy cannot act on your flanks, and of course on your said line, which must happen if the provinces on the right or left of your march are in his possession. The longer you proceed on such a series, the more certain is your destruction; for in a little time you will have no line at all; you will be entirely surrounded, and you are lost.

If the difficulties are always in proportion to the length of your line of operation, it follows, that when other circumstances are nearly equal, that army which acts on the shortest lines, must from that circumstance alone prevail; even though much inferior, provided it is conducted with prudence and activity.

LLOYD, Vol. II. Page 139, 140, 141, 142, 143.

OF AN OFFENSIVE WAR.

IF the place is situated close on the frontier, then by marching eight or ten miles into the country, you put it behind you, and carry on your siege, without any great obstacle on his part, because your line of operation is short and easily guarded. He cannot force you to abandon your enterprize, but by a victory.

If the place is situated thirty or forty miles within the country, by avoiding a general action, and acting with the greatest part of his forces on your line, he will probably take your convoys, and cut off your communication with your depots, and by that means oblige you to abandon the enterprize; and your

your retreat will be attended with great difficulties, because your army will or may be attacked in front, flank, and rear.

From this I draw one conclusion; if your situation is such, that in general you mean to attack your enemy on a given frontier, your fortresses can never be too near them, because your line of operation will be the shorter.

But if such places are intended to cover the country, they must be placed thirty or forty miles from the frontier, unless some particular circumstances intervene, as a great river, a pass, &c.

It is probable the enemy may have several lines of operation drawn from his camp, wherever it is, to the different fortresses and depots which he may have behind him. In this case he will play with you a whole campaign, shifting from one line to another, without a possibility of bringing him to a battle, or of driving him out of the country. Your army will be soon exhausted and wore out with marching and counter-marching, continually changing your line to follow him, till your provisions fail, and oblige you to retire without attempting any thing with an army now half ruined. This is exactly the case in America.

These are, in my opinion, the principles of an offensive war, deduced from reason and experience. Whenever Generals have been regulated by them, for the most part they have been crowned with success; and, on the contrary, have generally been unfortunate, when they have deviated from them, which is confirmed by history. It remains with the General to know how to apply them as circumstances require.

LLOYD,

LLOYD, Vol. II. Page 145, 146, 147, 148.

OF A DEFENSIVE WAR.

NO man, or body of men, can long withstand an attack in front, and another in flank at the same time, or remain in any given post, if a powerful corps is placed so as to be able to act on its line of operation.

When two armies march against you, in the manner just mentioned, and come from a considerable distance; if your country is strong, and has some good fortrefs in it, where your depots lay, occupy a strong camp and be quiet; such numerous armies in such a situation cannot remain a fortnight; they must separate for want of provisions. In this manner the king of Prussia baffled the attempts of the Austrians and Russians for four campaigns.

When he has penetrated thirty or forty miles into your country, and you cannot or will not oppose him in front; when you cannot defend your own line, you must either retire as he advances, till he has drove you out of the country, or attack his. The method of doing this with success, we say, is, to leave on your line, to oppose the enemy in front, a fifth of your army, chiefly cavalry; three-fifths on the flank of his march; the remaining fifth, all of light troops, horse and foot, must be placed along his line of operation in small bodies of one or two thousand men, who occupy the most advantageous spots, as woods, passes, &c. where they remain concealed. Parties must be sent from one to the other of about a hundred men, so that there is not a single point of the enemy's line which you cannot attack with success in an instant. Half his army cannot protect his convoys on a line of thirty miles. If he sends two or three strong detachments to escort a capital convoy, perhaps of three thousand waggons, because you have taken or dispersed his small ones, such a convoy will occupy
near

near thirty miles: I suppose the escort to consist of twenty thousand men; these will be posted in several corps, in front, rear, and along the flanks of the march; you are informed of his disposition, you may reinforce that part which we suppose already placed on his line, whether you do or not. I say, that the ten or twelve thousand light troops may unite in a short time, and be superior to the enemy's escort in any given point, and beat it; stop the front of the convoy, while your small parties break the carriages, take away the horses or kill them. If a hundred only of the carriages are destroyed, all those which are behind must stop. The escort is chained to the convoy, even to particular points of it. If you cannot beat it, amuse it by skirmishing; your parties in the mean time do the business.

By acting exactly in this manner, the Austrians took or destroyed a great convoy going from Neiss to Olmutz, which obliged the king to raise the siege of that place next morning, and to abandon Bohemia in a few days.

If in the conduct of a defensive war you adhere to the principles we have laid down, and the enemy's line of operation is only thirty or forty miles long, much more if it is a hundred, you will triumph in the end, and enjoy the fruits of your prudence and activity, which is every thing in war, particularly in a defensive one, where they must supply the want of force.

LLOYD, Vol. II. Page 151.

OF THE FRONTIER LINE.

SUPPOSING this line to be like that marked in Plate V. x. x. x. &c. which as most lines of any considerable extent projects in many parts: I say, that however extensive such a line may be, the points on which it can be attacked are determined by the number and quality of the roads which lead to it, and by the position and distance of the respective capitals,

pitals, and other strong places within a hundred miles of it, beyond which no army can act with advantage; that is, no army constituted as ours are, can act, if its depots are distant above a hundred miles, unless there is water-carriage.

If there are no such places of arms at all, or on the one side of the frontier line only, it is evident, that no solid operation can be executed, and that they can tend only to ravage the country and retire, or to facilitate the operations of some other army, acting on another line, which was the case with the Russians, during this whole war we are describing. They could not, and the Austrians would not avail themselves of the victories the former had gained at Palzig and Franckfurt on the Oder; so that the Russians, unable to fix themselves on or near that river, were always obliged to retire after a short campaign, because their line of operation was too long.

ANTICIPATION, &c.

[As the situation of affairs on the Continent alter every day, and various occurrences happen every moment, it was thought fit that this book should be dated from the 3d of November, the day it was delivered into the printer's hands, and advertised in the newspapers.]

November 3, 1792.

IT certainly was extremely imprudent of Brabant to revolt in the year 1789, without a positive assurance of support, and some European power declaring in their favour; as it was impos-

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sible

fible for them to fucceed againft fo formidable a
 force which Austria could bring againft her when
 reinforced from her interior Vienna dominions.
 As it is not my intent to dwell long on what is
 paff, but to look forward to what is to come, I
 fhall content myfelf by remarking, that however
 unfortunate the Brabanters were, they might at leaft
 have prolonged the war for one campaign longer, in
 which time many things might, and moft probably
 would, have turned out to their advantage. Had
 they turned their thoughts folely to the fortifying
 of every town on the banks of the Meufe (but
 moft particularly Namur), and never thought of
 any other operations, but fortified every town on
 that river as ftrong as nature and art could have
 made them; and befides have thrown up ftrong
 batteries and intrenchments on every part of it
 where it was fordable, which would have well en-
 abled them to have difputed the paffage of it; ob-
 ftacles not fo eafy to be furmounted even by the beft
 and moft regular armies. By thefe exertions I am
 inclined to believe (and I am fupported in my opi-
 nion by many good officers), they might at leaft
 have held out a confiderable time longer, at leaft
 one

one campaign ; when, as I have said before, great events in their favour might have taken place.

All these errors are past; let us bury them in oblivion, and proceed to investigate what Brabant at present ought to do. Her situation is quite different to what it was in the year 1789 : a powerful friend now stretches out her hand to assist her, who is as much interested in her liberation as herself; who will assist her in obtaining those rights for which she once unsuccessfully struggled, and every other right, desire, or advantage, which she may wish to enjoy ; who will give to the *people* at large the power of forming their own laws by an elective government chosen from the great body of the nation ; the only means by which the true sense of any nation can be obtained, whose wishes are to be allied to her, and agree mutually to protect each other from foreign invaders, and to expel the present foe. It is so truly to the interest of Brabant to be allied to France, and France to Brabant, that I think it cannot possibly escape the ideas of so many bright and enlightened characters in both those nations. France, for ages past, has been a

great nation without any assistance from Brabant : on the contrary, she has been at war with the powers who have possessed that country : and all these exertions, great as they were, have only tended to prove the strength of the French frontier on that side, and the wonderful resources and powers of France when she has turned the springs and sinews of her government to the defence of her country *by land* *. This plainly shews that

* Lloyd, vol. ii. page 156 and 157.—In the war for the succession of Spain, at the beginning of this century, *ten successful campaigns* brought the Allies no farther than Landrecy, not thirty miles from the Austrian frontiers. A very considerable defeat at Denain obliged Prince Eugene to raise the siege of that place, and in a short time abandon his conquests, the fruits of many victories.

I know most people suppose that this were owing to the defection of the English : had this never taken place, perhaps the Allies might in time have advanced to the Marne, and sent parties to the Segue ; but will any officer suppose that any army marching that line from Mons, Tournay, &c. could separate and take winter quarters on the above-mentioned rivers, while the French were in possession of Picardy, Normandy, and Champagne ?—No, it is impossible. The great *fault* of the French generals, when on the *defensive*, was to *oppose* the enemy *in front*, whereas they should have *operated* against their *flanks*.

France

France can be great and powerful without the assistance of Brabant: but I take on me to affirm, that, by her own exertions solely, Brabant never can be great and free, and form her own government: she must seek the assistance of some powerful state to liberate her. France now offers her friendly aid; therefore, this is the time and the only time for Brabant to strike: if she lets slip this great advantage offered her by France she will repent it. An alliance between Brabant and France is sufficient to make both countries perfectly at their ease. The French frontier line will be trebly strong from its being shortened nearly one third in extent, and her Netherlands absolutely will be unattackable. What a great acquisition! The advantages to Brabant also are immense by such an alliance. I confess the advantages will be greater to France; but what of that, when both countries will be most materially benefitted; which I hope to be able to prove in the sequel of this book. It is an object of so much consequence to them both, that I think it is impossible they should not perceive it and adopt it.

From

From the very beginning of this combined invasion of France, I have been strongly inclined to believe that Austria (in the end) is the power that will suffer the most. For, after one unsuccessful campaign, Prussia (if she perceives no certain means of being paid her expences incurred by the war, either in money, or by the ceding of some rich territory to her), will most likely withdraw her troops, and will not easily be prevailed upon to attempt any further operations against France, and will be happy to see Austria left in the scrape to extricate herself as well as she can. For what tends to the diminution of the power and riches of the House of Austria must be congenial to the wishes of Prussia, they having been for an age past rival enemies in Germany, and must so remain, from the situation of their territories, that subject them to perpetual disputes and jealousies, which at last are terminated only by war. I shall not speak at present of the situation of Poland with the ambitious views of Russia in that country, who may perhaps further extend them to the possession of Dantzick (which is shrewdly suspected), which may also make it expedient for Prussia to preserve

preserve her armies for the protection of her own dominions, and may perhaps call her attention elsewhere.

But if Austria and Prussia shall continue to cooperate resolutely together, and persist vigorously in mutual operations this winter, and continue them next campaign, they jointly might keep possession of a great part of Brabant and Luxembourg, and also perhaps take possession of a part of Alsace and Lorraine (which they ought to have done at first before they had ever attempted any operations into the interior parts of France), and keep those provinces in hot water ; but before they conquer and possess either Alsace or Lorraine, many capital fortresses must first be subdued, which is not to be done in an hour or a day, without which it will be impossible for them ever to winter in those countries ; therefore what will be the use of their marching into them and out again if they cannot fix themselves firmly and solidly in the country, which cannot be done until they have reduced all the great fortresses ; and as not one at present is in their hands, we may with truth say
they

they must begin next spring *de novo*. I doubt much myself of their being able to reduce Alsace and Lorraine, and at the same time hold Brabant, for this must cause a division of their forces, which is a great advantage to France; for her armies every hour will not only increase immensely in numbers but in discipline, and like unto a hydra, when one soldier is killed ten fresh ones are ready to fill his place. As to the combined forces conquering France and establishing the old despotic government, or reinstating the Emigrant Princes, it is not to be done. How can 120,000 men be so absurd as to imagine they can conquer above 20 millions of souls unanimous? it is impossible. They may kill many thousands and distress many thousands more; but subdue such a populous nation is not on the military cards; it is too absurd an idea, and will not bare one moment's argument. If they wished to obtain any solid advantages to themselves from the distressed situation of the French nation, they should have contented themselves with attempting to hold Brabant, which was already in the possession of Austria, and have tried to subdue Alsace and Lorraine. Here appears to me

a very

very strange jumble of interests. Austria already in the possession of Brabant, and Prussia and Austria both mutually co-operating to reduce Alsace and Lorrain. What was Prussia out of these conquests to have? Was she to have nothing ceded to her? There appears such a complete mixture of interests in these operations, and not being acquainted with the private intrigues of cabinets, I cannot form any judgement further than in the end, like two dogs, I think they were most likely to quarrel for the bone. I am certain Prussia would not wish to possess Alsace and Lorrain, as it is too far detached from her dominions; and to maintain them, it would so much divide her forces, that she is too wise to attempt such a possession; and I think it very improbable that she would assist in conquering Alsace and Lorraine to deliver it to the Austrians, unless they, in return, were to cede a great part of Silesia, or some other territory, in return to Prussia, contiguous to her present possessions. Certain it is, that there is a misunderstanding between the invading powers, which time will bring to light; in the mean time I shall content myself with this

one remark ; that Austria, in the end, is likely to be the greatest sufferer by the loss of Brabant.

As I have already pointed out what Austria and Prussia *jointly* might do were they determined to act vigorously in concert with each other, I shall now proceed to shew how Austria will find herself situated with France and Brabant, supposing Prussia shall withdraw her forces and render her no further assistance, which the present face of affairs strongly indicate.

I shall be happy to be informed by any officer who possesses military knowledge, how it will be possible for the Austrians to retain their possessions in Brabant (if Prussia shall withdraw her forces and cease to co-operate any further with her). When a large French force shall move against them into Brabant from French Flanders to support and instigate a general revolt ; and another army directly down the Meuse, on the south-east side, to take possession of that river, so as to hinder any provisions being afforded the Austrian garrisons and army by that quarter. All Brabant in arms, with
a powerful

a powerful French army in their country to support them, will render it impossible for the Austrians to supply themselves any longer from the country of Brabant; and the other French army, which we suppose to move down the south side of the Meuse will absolutely be between the Austrian fortresses in Brabant, and every depot they can have in the county of Luxembourg or the Rhine, and will cut off all stores and provisions from that quarter. From whence else can they be fed? from Holland. But the moment the French and Brabanters get possession of the Scheld, their communication with Holland will also be intercepted. If the French and the Brabanters will only operate on the Austrian line of communication, and use every exertion to hinder their being supplied with provisions, the Austrians will shortly be shut up and entangled amongst their fortresses; and as miracles have ceased, and it is not likely it should rain salt pork and peck loaves, when the magazines already laid in are expended, they must either retreat, starve, or capitulate. But if the French and Brabanters should grow imprudently bold,

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from

from great prospects of success, and the immense superiority of numbers they will be able to bring into the field, and should deliver a general battle, they may be beaten from the great discipline and order that prevails in the Austrian army; and, by the loss of one signal battle, they may in one day throw away what they will not in some months be able to repair. But if they will be contented with perpetually skirmishing with the enemy, and harassing them whenever an opportunity offers, and never deliver battle, but act on their flanks, and on their line of communication with their depots, their efforts must in the end be crowned with success. An intelligent officer may say, how will a French army move down the Meuse and be able to feed themselves from *their* depots on their frontiers whilst the fortress of Luxembourg remains in the hands of the Austrians, and directly on their right flank and rear? I reply, that Luxembourg is a well fortified town, and able to stand a siege, but it is not necessary for the whole of the French army, destined for that particular service, to halt and besiege that town; they may mask or block-

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ade * it with a corps superior to the garrison, a method that our celebrated General most particularly recommends when you cannot stay to besiege a town, and operations of great consequence call you elsewhere.

But there is a more material circumstance than any I have hitherto mentioned, which must, in the end, sooner or later, terminate in the loss of Brabant to the Austrians, for the same reasons by which our celebrated General accounts for the loss of Alsace and Lorrain, to whose works I refer you †; and shall proceed with commenting on and apply-

* The Duke of Brunswick might have acted thus at Thionville, if he ever intended to attempt a move towards Paris:— he would have gained much time, which, in the situation of affairs then, was of every consequence.

† We have already shewn that France has great advantages in attacking Flanders from the proximity of its depots, which are greatly encreased by the Austrian *line of operation* from Vienna to Brussels (a distance of above 300 miles), which *makes it impossible for them to preserve that country*. It was no doubt owing to this circumstance chiefly, if not intirely, that the

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applying his remarks to the present situation of the Austrian troops in Brabant. Every fresh supply, except provisions, must come from Vienna to the Austrian army in Brabant; namely, cannon, and all other military stores, horses, recruits, cloathing, small and great, arms, and accoutrements; all these must be brought above 300 miles. The very expence itself of supplying an army with every thing necessary for it on a line of communication of 300 miles, is sufficient of itself to ruin the cause. France, on the contrary, has every thing close at hand; she can be easily supplied with all sorts of stores from many of her fortresses that are on the borders of her frontier, and close to Brabant and the country of Luxembourg; and I will, with confidence, assert, that where France expends one pound, it shall cost Austria at least seven or ten times that sum; (the Reader should understand I mean in all supplies sent from Vienna, a distance of 300 miles); when France

House of Austria could not preserve Alsace, Franche Compté, and Lorrain, which will finally bring on the loss of Flanders.
—Lloyd, vol. ii. page 160.

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can be supplied with every store she may require at a very short distance, I may almost say, on the very spot: what an immense advantage this must be to France. Our celebrated General so expressly points out the advantages of the army that acts on a short line of operation, and the disadvantages of the other which act on a long line of operation; and plainly proves that the latter, however superior, must, from the length of its line of operation, in the end, be ruined. In short, all his remarks tend to prove the immense, (nay, insurmountable) disadvantages Austria has to encounter in that country, that I am clearly of opinion the best thing the Austrians can do, provided the Prussians will no longer co-operate with them, is to withdraw their forces from Brabant, as they cannot keep possession of that country for any time, but by an immense expenditure of blood and treasure, and in the end will not gain their point, but be driven out at last, if the Brabanters take up arms, and the French are determined to act with all their power against the House of Austria in that quarter, and support them vigorously.

Before

Before I proceed to shew the mutual interest of Brabant and France, when allied, I shall state the immediate operations that are likely to take place. The very moment the Brabanters and French have taken possession of the river Scheld, and also of the Meuse below the most exterior fortress the Austrians possess on that river, all supplies of provisions are cut off from Holland by the former river, and from the Rhine by the latter (by water I mean). Now I will ask any Officer when their present magazines are exhausted, how are they to be supplied in future? he will say, of course, from the Rhine, through the county of Luxembourg. Now Namur is certainly the best place for these provisions to be brought to: and Namur is above 120 miles from the nearest point on the Rhine, namely Coblentz, or Cologne. General Lloyd says, it is impossible for any army whatever to feed itself on a line of communication of 100 miles. I will be so bold as to presume the same, as I am certain I cannot have more able authority. Please to recollect also, that the fortress of Luxembourg is above 80 miles from Namur. These methods pursued, the Austrians must

must absolutely starve. The French and Brabanters have only to take strong positions, remain quiet, and not deliver any general action, but harass the enemy in every quarter, and use every endeavour to cut off any future supply of provisions or stores by acting on their line of communication wherever it may come from. For strong posts, well fortified with temporary redoubts and intrenchments, and well supplied with artillery (of which the French have the best in the world), now a days, generally decide the fate of countries. Battles are seldom of much if of any advantage. Mareschal Saxe says, they are the resources of weak generals. Look to the wars of the Great King of Prussia, you will find various instances of this nature. The Russians twice, after two signal actions gained over the King's army, were forced to retreat from whence they came for want of provisions. Their *line of operation* was too long, they could not *support* their army on it, and General Lloyd very justly condemns the Great Frederick for delivering them battle; for had he took up some strong position, and waited only 10 days longer, the Russians must have retreated or have starved. Marshal Daun's army

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was

was in the very same predicament as the Russians, when he attempted a co-operation with them; his *line of operation* was *so long* he could not feed his army for *any time*, and retreated *only* for the want of provisions.

Provisions are the sole and only spring of war, and that army which can have them close at hand, whilst the enemy is obliged to bring them from a great distance, must in the end prevail. One single convoy coming to the King of Prussia's army (at the siege of Olmutz) being destroyed by the Austrians, made the king that very same evening raise the siege, break up his camp, retreat and evacuate a tract of country for which he had been fighting two campaigns. And if Marshal Vendome had followed the advice given him by the Duke of Berwick, and had attacked and defeated that immense convoy coming from Brussels to the Duke of Marlborough's army when he lay near Menin, and before Prince Eugene had joined him, the great Duke of Marlborough never could have besieged Lisle that year, but must have retreated immediately over the Scheld, and that campaign

campaign would have turned out as advantageous to the French as it did to the allies, as the great object they had in view for that campaign would have been defeated. Vide Memoirs de Berwick, tom. II.

I have already observed that, when the French and Brabanters shall get possession of the Scheld and the Meuse (I do not mean the mouth of the Meuse as any position below Namur will be to effect), that the Austrians will be totally deprived of supplying themselves with provisions either from the country of Brabant, or from Holland, which, in the end, (if the French and Brabanters will only act on their line of operation, and not deliver battle, or oppose them in front), must finish in their ruin. These measures, so decisive and destructive in the end to the Austrians, may not be so speedily put in execution from the season being so far advanced, and winter hastily approaching. But I am induced to risk an opinion that the Austrians may immediately be much circumscribed in their possessions, and embarrassed in their operations in Brabant, and be reduced to act on a

most contracted scale. The idea I have taken from the following lines in General Lloyd's Works :

Lloyd, Vol. II. Page 156. " This part of the
 " French frontier line is stronger by art than na-
 " ture, having a prodigious number of strong
 " fortresses and posts upon it; moreover, it pro-
 " jects in many places, so that an enemy can enter
 " it no where, without having some of them in
 " front and on his flanks, his depots must be at
 " Namur, Mons, and Tournay. An army of
 " forty thousand men placed on the Sambre, and
 " another of equal force about Condé, will so bridle
 " his operations, that he cannot advance a step with-
 " out eminent danger; for that, which we sup-
 " pose on the Sambre, by masking Namur, pene-
 " trates into the country to Brussels, &c. which
 " will force the enemy to retire and abandon his
 " own frontier."

Although the General in the foregoing lines applies this manœuvre *only* to the defence of the French frontier, I cannot see why, in part, it may
 not

not be adopted in the invasion of Brabant; as for instance, suppose Tournay or Mons to be attacked by the French, which they are most likely to be from their very exterior situation on the extremities of the Austrian frontier, the main Austrian army must either totally leave those places to their destiny of being besieged and taken, or blockaded and starved, or must move to their relief. If the Austrian army should move to the relief of either of those places, I am of opinion that a strong corps moving over the river Sambre, by masking Namur and penetrating into the country of Brussels, will so effectually act on their line of communication with their depots, that I think they will soon be obliged to return to protect that part of the country, and to be near to their magazines. Any how, in this case, they will have two evils, of which they may chuse the least; either to abandon Mons and Tournay to the will of the enemy, or to leave the country of Brussels to the incursions of that corps which moves into it over the river Sambre. I confess I am of opinion that such an operation would embarrass them much and put them to the greatest distress.

I shall

I shall now leave the Austrians to extricate themselves from the difficulties which, by our celebrated General's assistance, I have been able to point out; and shall proceed to shew the advantages which the Brabanters and French will mutually derive from a friendly alliance.

When first, by the assistance of General Lloyd's Works, I undertook to investigate the interests of France (I mean in a military point of view; for the intrigues of cabinets may baffle every military maxim laid down by him, and beat all human foresight), I was of opinion that France, before she sheathed the sword, should extend her Frontier Line to the banks of the Rhine; but, from more mature deliberation, I am enclined to believe this great advantage, which would place her in eternal security from invasions from the German Powers, may be postponed until a future occasion (I mean until she has more firmly settled her interior government, *when nothing then can binder her*). France, by the immediate liberation of Brabant, and an alliance with that power, may acquire almost every military advantage and security

curity the same as if she had actually extended her frontier to the Rhine, which I shall attempt to prove. The present Frontier Line of France runs from Basle on the Upper Rhine to Dunkerque on the Channel, a distance of about 460 miles, for the particulars of which, and the strength of it, I refer you to the adjoining note *, extracted from

Lloyd, Vol. II. Page 154.—The frontier of France, towards Germany, begins at Basle, in Switzerland, and runs in various directions from thence to Dunkirk, in French Flanders. I shall divide this long line into three parts, and consider each of them separately. The first part goes from Basle to Landau, and covers Alsatia; it is near 130 miles in length. The second part goes from Landau to Sedan, on the Moselle, covers Lorraine on the side of the electorate of Treves, the dutchies of Deux-Ponts, Luxemburg, and Limburg; it is 190 miles in length. From Sedan down the Meuse to Charlemont in French Flanders, and thence to Dunkirk, goes the third part, and is about 150 miles; so that this whole frontier is about 470 miles.

The first part of this line is covered by the Rhine, on which are placed Hunninghen, New Brisac, Strasburg, and Landau, all which are very strong. Strasburg has a bridge over the Rhine; on the back part of Alsace runs a chain of mountains, which separates it from Franche Compté and Lorraine; the distance

from General Lloyd's Works, to which I request the military reader will give the *greatest* attention; and,

distance between these mountains is from ten to fifteen miles. An army encamped near Strasburgh, covered by the Rhine and the fortresses above-mentioned, could with ease prevent an enemy from passing that river, or at least from besieging any of them, and without taking them all, he could not possibly separate his army and take his winter quarters in Alsace, while the French have any considerable force encamped or cantoned in the mountains above-mentioned. I am therefore surprized the Austrians ever made any attempt on that side, and much more so, that the French were so very much alarmed at it. For my part, I am confident that an able general, at the head of thirty or forty thousand men, so far from being terrified at the approach of an enemy, or opposing his passing the Rhine, would wish to see him shut up between the mountains, the river, and the fortresses; because he would see the facility of preventing his repassing it at all, and of cutting him off entirely. Look at the map and judge.

The second part of the French frontier, viz. the line which goes from Landau to Sedan, is very strong both by nature and art, having several strong places on it; and the country before it is no less difficult, being very mountainous, and consequently full of narrow passes. The direction of this line is concave towards that part of Germany; so that an enemy who advances

on

and, at the same time, look to the map, and judge with what a masterly hand that Officer treats on this subject,

on that side must have his depots on the Rhine, at Mentz, or Coblentz, or at Maestricht and Namur on the Meuse; in both cases the army, which I suppose encamped at Landau, can hinder him from advancing from the Rhine, by acting on his line of operation on that side, while another of forty thousand men, placed on the Meuse near Sedan, will prevent any army from advancing into Lorraine or Champaign on that side, as is evident from the inspection of the map.

Whether we consider the strength of this line, the direction of it, or finally, the obstacles which the country before it offers, it will appear that no enemy can approach it, much less attack it with any prospect of success: a small corps posted at Luxembourg, might indeed advance from thence, and ravage a few villages in haste, but no solid enterprize can, we think, ever be executed on that side.

The third and last part of the French frontier runs from Sedan down the Meuse to Charlemont, and from thence to Dunkirk, and is 150 miles in length. It has been the scene of successive wars for near two centuries, the most expensive, bloody, and durable of any recorded in the annals of mankind, of which the author proposes giving the history on the same plan this work is wrote.

subject, not giving his own opinion only, but stating the most undeniable facts attested and proved

This line is stronger by art than nature, having a prodigious number of strong fortresses and posts upon it; moreover, it projects in many places, so that an enemy can enter it no where, without having some of them in front and on his flanks, his depots must be at Namur, Mons, and Tournay. An army of forty thousand men placed on the Sambre, and another of equal force about Condé, will so bridle his operations, that he cannot advance a step without imminent danger; for that, which we suppose on the Sambre, by masking Namur, penetrates into the country to Brussels, &c. which will force the enemy to retire and abandon his own frontier. In the present state of Austrian Flanders, and the adjacent parts of Holland, nothing could prevent the two armies from over-running the above-mentioned countries in one campaign.

In the war for the succession of Spain, at the beginning of this century, *ten successful campaigns brought the Allies no farther than Landrecy, not thirty miles from the Austrian frontiers*, a very inconsiderable defeat at Denain obliged Prince Eugene to raise the siege of that place, and in a short time abandoned his conquests, the fruits of many victories.

I know most people suppose, that this was owing to the defection of the English: had this never taken place, perhaps the

proved by the issue of various expensive and bloody wars. If France cannot immediately, or does not chuse

the Allies might in time have advanced to the Marne, and sent parties to the Seyne: but will any officer suppose, that any army marching that line from Mons, Tournay, &c. could separate and take winter quarters on the above-mentioned rivers, while the French were in possession of Picardy, Normandy, and Champaign? No, it is impossible: the great fault of the French generals, when on the defensive, was to oppose the enemy in front, whereas they should have operated against their flanks.

The final event of this long and bloody war shews the strength of this frontier, and the prodigious resources of the House of Bourbon. From the description we have of the French frontier towards Germany and Flanders, though very incomplete, it appears, that an enemy, though his dominions were on the Upper Rhine, opposite to Alsace, would find it extremely difficult, or rather impossible, to conquer that province, from whence alone he could penetrate into Lorrain, &c.

That the second part of the French frontier, from Landau to the Meuse, cannot be attacked by any German power marching up the Moselle, between the Rhine and the Meuse, the event of the different wars, waged in Flanders, prove the superiority of the French, I mean the *superior advantages they possess in acting on that frontier, which are indeed so very*

chuse at present, to attempt the possession of those countries which lay between her present frontier and the Rhine, she is more doubly bound to liberate Brabant from the Austrian power, and to form an alliance with her; for, by expelling the Austrians from Brabant, she will place a most populous, rich, and formidable nation between her Netherlands and every invading German power from the north to the north-east point of her dominions, and, by this excellent and proper alliance, she shortens her frontier line at least 160 miles, and will only have to protect her frontier from between Charlemont and Sedan to Basil on the Upper Rhine, which will *curtail* her frontier line nearly *one third* in extent. Let me intreat the military reader to look to the map and judge what an advantage this alone would be, if no other was to accrue to her from this alliance: but I hope to be able to point out some of more con-

great, that no forces can be collected and supported in Flanders by the house of Austria, the English, Dutch, and the German Princes, which can preserve that country against the efforts of the French; *most certainly the Austrians alone cannot do it.*

sequence.

sequence. Every officer who has read and studied the History of the Wars in Brabant for the invasion of France, on that quarter, must acknowledge, that, to attack the French Netherlands, or to penetrate into France on that side, the enemy must absolutely have his depots at Namur on the Meuse, and at Tournay and Mons; but when the Austrians shall be expelled from that country, and the Brabanters allied to France, all these fortresses will be in the hands of the Brabanters, together with every town on the north of the Meuse: this at once totally hinders all operations against the French Netherlands, for not one single man of the enemy can ever enter the French Netherlands before all Brabant is subdued, (which I shall treat of hereafter). It will now be proper to shew the collateral strength of Brabant and France, after the expulsion of the Austrians. Brabant will have Namur, Mons, Tournay, &c. in their possession, well fortified and garrisoned. Landau, Thionville, Longwy, and Sedan, all strong places, and already in the possession of the French, and in front and on the very exterior edge of their frontier line, with Metz, Strasbourg, New Brisac, and

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Huningham, in their rear, also fortified; from whence supplies of provisions, drawn from a plentiful country behind them, may be conveyed to either of the above French fortresses, or to any army laying near them; this advantage alone is immense to the French; (and the country of Brabant is nearly situated alike, in that respect, with its fortresses), neither of them will ever be obliged to seek their provisions at a distance, or have to conduct and guard large convoys of provisions and stores on a *long line of communication*, having *many* capital depots close to their armies, with each of their countries open to them in their rear; whilst any invading power from Germany, before they can attempt to enter France, or Brabant, must form some large depots on the Rhine, or in the upper parts of the country of Luxembourg, that being the nearest place they can form their magazines at.

For when Brabant is gone, the fall of the fortress of Luxembourg must of course follow (as long as Alsace and Lorraine continue in the hands of the French); for it is not possible for the
Austrians

Austrians to keep it, it may be starved without ever being attacked. The strength of the Brabanters and French will be so immense when allied and acting conjointly, that I am certain when the Austrian troops are once driven over the Rhine, and Brabant allied to France, it will be a most dangerous undertaking for any General to attempt to pass over that river any distance into the country of Luxembourg to attack France between the *Moselle and the Meuse*, or to *pass the Meuse* to attack Brabant; if he does, I am of opinion that most likely he will never get half his army back again: but, if this should not be the case, certain I am that he must retreat or starve if he advances above 50 miles into the country; he will be nearly surrounded, as the French and Brabant armies can operate on *both his* flanks at once, and at the *same time* on *his line of communication* with his *depots* on the Rhine, which no army ever so powerful, or any general ever so skillful, can resist, which I hope I shall be able, from the positions the reader will find the Brabanters, and French forces posted, in the following pages plainly to demonstrate. Our celebrated General points
out

out the following positions for the French forces for the protection of their *present frontier* line, which extends from Basle to Dunquerque. He proposes placing one army of forty thousand near Strasburgh, and another of forty thousand near Landau, and another of forty thousand near Sedan on the Meuse, another of forty thousand placed on the river Sambre (a branch of the Meuse), and another of forty thousand near Condé. To prove the strength of France and Brabant when allied, supposing the Austrians first of all to be driven out of Brabant, and France and Brabant acting mutually together, it will be necessary to alter the position of the northernmost armies (in case of any attack from Germany) as following, and then I will ask any military man how either of those countries can be attacked by any German power from the Rhine? The three distinct armies, each of 40 thousand men, which General Lloyd proposes placing the one at Sedan, one on the River Sambre, and one at Condé, we will dispose of as follows: the army at Sedan shall be moved forward to the neighbourhood of Thionville, (perhaps it might be better if it were advanced rather more forward

forward somewhere near to Luxembourg). That army of 40 thousand on the Sambre shall not replace the position of the one that was at Sedan, but shall also be moved forward to the neighbourhood of Thionville, and joined to the army of 40 thousand, that was placed at Sedan, but now moved forward near to Thionville; and the one at Condé shall advance, and, in alliance with an army of 30 thousand Brabanters, place itself near to Namur or Maastricht. An enemy who shall attempt to attack France, or Brabant, will find the following armies to oppose them, and their positions will be as here under-mentioned: an army of 40 thousand French and 30 thousand Brabanters (70,000), posted near Namur or Maastricht, in Brabant; an army of 80 thousand near Thionville, a corps of 40 thousand near Landau, and a corps of 40 thousand near Strasburg. Although I have made some alteration in the position of the armies from where General Lloyd places them, which I have in the foregoing lines minutely stated, yet the candid reader will, I hope, do me that justice to acknowledge, that I have most rigidly adhered to those principles which he so expressly recommends, and

affures success to such officers who follow them, and points out the ruin and defeat of those who do not adhere to them, namely, posting the different corps in such a manner so that an invading enemy may be operated at one and the same time, both in flank and rear. The military reader will also plainly observe, that I have only advanced certain French corps, which an alliance with Brabant absolutely will make necessary; as the frontier line of France, in that case, will be so considerably shortened. Nor have I added one single man in addition to the forces which General Lloyd thinks necessary for the defence of those countries. I shall now point out in what various different ways the several distinct corps, posted as I have described, may be able to act against any army that may attempt to pass the Rhine, either to attack Brabant or France. An enemy that passes the Rhine with an intent either to attack Brabant or to enter France between the Meuse and the Moselle, must have their depots on those parts of the Rhine the most contiguous to their operations, which are Dusseldorf, Cologne, and Coblenz; from one or all of these places they *must* be fed. If their intent

be

be to march to the Meuse, and to pass that river to attack Brabant, they will find an army of 70,000 French and Brabanters near Maastricht, or Namur, ready to move to any point to receive them and dispute the passage of that river, whilst the army of 80,000 near Thionville, may, with two thirds of their force, (say, 60,000) move forward and place themselves on their left flank, keeping their own left close to the river Meuse, either to reinforce the army on the other side of that river, opposed to the enemy in front, or to be reinforced from that army over the Meuse, just as circumstances may require, and send the remaining 20,000 down the Moselle, whilst at the same time 20,000 from the army of 40,000 posted at Landau, shall move forward cross that river, and in conjunction with the detachment from the Thionville army, place themselves absolutely in the rear, and directly between the enemy and their line of communication with their depot: I will ask any officer how it is possible for an invading army to remain a moment in such a situation with 70,000 men to oppose them in front, 60,000 on their left flank, and 40,000

acting on their line of communication with their depots? They must retreat or starve. Now, *vice versa*, if the enemy's intent shall be instead of attacking Brabant to move down between the Meuse and the Moselle, and attempt to enter France by the way of Longwy, Sedan, or Charlemont, the army of 80,000 near Thionville will be ready to move forward and oppose their operations, whilst the army of French and Brabanters of 70,000 laying near Namur or Maastricht may pass the Meuse and take some position on the right flank of the enemy with 40,000, and detach the other 30,000 to act on their line of operation with their depots on the Rhine. A detachment of 20,000 from the army at Landau may also move forward just the same in this case as in the former just mentioned. In this situation they will have an army of 80,000 to oppose them in front, and one of 40,000 on their right flank, with 50,000 operating on their line of communication, with their depots in their rear. In this situation I am convinced they are more dangerously situated than in the former, because if they advance at all to attempt any solid operations against France, their line of operation

operation will be considerably longer, and of course attended with more difficulties and dangers. Will any officer suppose an enemy can advance into the country of France, or any other country on the face of the earth, when they can be operated on in the manner I have pointed out above? No, it is impossible. Our celebrated General assures you to the contrary; and not only gives it as his opinion, but proves most plainly, by various instances in the wars of which he treats in his Works, that every General who has been able, from the situation of the country, to act according to these principles (namely, not to oppose an enemy solely in front, but to post a strong corps on his flanks, and operate also on his line of communication with his depots), that General has ever been successful, when his line of operation has been short and the enemy's very long, and most particularly and most assuredly when he has had the choice of several lines to act on, by all which he can feed his army, and the invading enemy have been forced to adhere to one line of operation, which must ever be the case of an army that invades a country. The military reader may justly observe, that in every situation

I have

I have detached too large a body of troops from the two main armies to act on the enemy's line of communication with their depots in the rear. My only motive was to shew the great powers of Brabant and France when allied, and that they were well able, after detaching so considerable a corps to resist the foe in every situation. For I know full well that twenty thousand men, or at most twenty-five thousand, are sufficient to act on any enemy's line of communication, let his army be ever so numerous, provided the greater part of them are light troops, such as light infantry, chasseurs, dragoons, and hussars. For, if the enemy should detach a very large force to protect their convoys, the Brabanters and French can with ease, and with much greater safety, detach also.

There remains yet another way by which an enemy may attack the French possessions, but I think it full as bad, if not worse, than either of the two former; I mean between the Moselle and the Rhine: in this case they most likely will have their depots at Mayence, Worms, and Manheim (all on the Rhine). But I should like to be informed

how

how they can advance into Alsace or Lorraine, when an army of 80,000 lays near Thionville, and another of 40,000 at Landau, I mean so as to penetrate any distance into either country, and execute any solid operations. I will be responsible, that if they ever advance twenty miles beyond the frontier line between Thionville and Landau, that all communication will be cut off between them and their depots by detachments from both or either of the two French armies, and they must, in the end, retreat with disgrace and loss. All they can do is to attack some fortress close on the frontier, and when they have taken one proceed to attack another fortress, and so on; for they can never take possession of those countries, or be able to winter their troops in them, before they have reduced all the great fortresses: and it will be of no use to them to march into those countries in summer, and be obliged to march out again when winter approaches. But this is a work of infinite labour and toil indeed: and if they should adopt this plan, the French can bring a considerable reinforcement from their army in Brabant, and concentrate nearly their whole forces to act against them.

them. As to an army entering Alsace over the Rhine, near to Strasbourg, or New Brisac (where also an army of 40,000 are posted), I shall refer the military reader to General Lloyd's Works for his opinion of an attack on France by that quarter. He deems it impracticable. For me to give his reasons will enlarge this book considerably, which already is swelling greater in extent than I intended at first. I shall conclude with briefly making one observation, on which General Lloyd throughout his whole works lays so much stress. In all these various operations I have pointed out where an enemy may attack Brabant or France. The enemy can *only* act on *one long line of Operation* when both the Brabanters and French have *many* lines of operation to act on, *all very short*, and their *Depots close at hand*. This advantage alone, if there were no other, our celebrated General plainly proves is sufficient, in the end, to baffle and defeat the projects of the most able General at the head of a numerous and well disciplined army. I intreat the reader to look to the map whilst perusing this book, for, without attending to

to it, it will be impossible for him to form any judgement.

A very droll idea has just entered my head: I must indulge it. I acknowledge I have no other reason for suspecting it but my own fancy.

It is plainly to be perceived, that a good understanding subsists between the Prussians and the French. For no lady of fashion can be more civil to you when you call her carriage, and hand her out of the Opera, than the Prussians have been to the French whilst they were handing them out of France. By the last accounts the Prussians had possession of Luxembourg, and their troops were not marched out of that country. Now, if an alliance really shall have taken place between Prussia and France (I only suppose it), and Prussia should at once throw off the mask, and declare in favour of France, and keep a considerable part of her forces in the country of Luxembourg. By heavens! the Austrians in Brabant are all caught in a net; not one mother's son of them can ever repass the Rhine to Vienna; they must be all taken to a man. Just

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the same as when a fisherman sees a large shoal of fishes pass with the flood-tide through a narrow channel into shoal water, he lays his net accross, and waits till low water, when he turns in and shovels them out on the dry sands by cart loads. This indeed would be the most perfect coup de maitre that was ever invented. It stands on the military cards, and may with ease be played. The biter would be so truly bitten. Nor do I see any reason why it should not take place. I confess it prepossesses my ideas much; for great nations always act according to their interests, and are not the least scrupulous of breaking treaties or engagements when they see it is contrary to their interest to keep them. Great nations have many individuals amongst them, who, as individuals, are men of the greatest honour and probity. But great nations (speaking politically of them), are great rogues in their transactions with their natural enemy; so are great ministers and great generals, although, in their private characters, "*they are all honourable men*;" but, when acting for the state, he that deceives the most, and, by that deceit, can gain the greatest advantage, has ever been accounted the

the most able statesman and the greatest general. But, this is all chimerical, and merely the effusion of my own fancy; but, if it were to take place, it would be truly laughable.

EXTENSION OF THE FRENCH FRONTIER TO THE LOWER RHINE.

I THINK it is not at all necessary for the French at this moment to pay any great attention to the immediate extension of their frontier line to the river Rhine; as, in their present situation, it can be of but little consequence or advantage to them, which I hope I have fully proved in the supposed alliance between Brabant and France, (the Austrians being driven out of Brabant); as in a future time (not long distant) nothing can hinder the French at their leisure from extending their frontier to that river. The only immediate object the French ought to have in view is to instigate and vigorously support a general revolt in Brabant, and to compel the Austrian forces in Brabant to re-pass the river Meuse. The moment they shall have suc-

ceeded in this attempt, I will be so bold as to assert they need not trouble themselves at present any further about the extension of their frontier to the Rhine, that will come of course; for the Austrians, when they once have been driven over the Meuse out of Brabant, can hold the country of Luxembourg but a very short time: they may indeed possess the upper part of the Duchy of Juliers for a short time, and in God's name let them stay there if they chuse it till they are tired:—I hope I have been able to prove, by the positions I have pointed out, namely, of one large army of French and Brabanders stationed between Namur and Maastricht, another army of French near Thionville, and another French corps near Landau, that the difficulties will be immense to any German power invading either Brabant or France in those parts over the Rhine; and I trust the military reader will also easily perceive that the Austrians once driven over the Meuse will find themselves just in the same predicament; I should imagine they would very soon of their own accord evacuate the Duchy of Juliers, without any compulsion; for, having once lost Brabant, the possession of the upper parts of Juliers

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can be of no consequence or advantage to them. Strengthened by these various circumstances, I now repeat again my first proposition, that the French at present ought to have no other object in view but forcing the Austrians over the river Meuse; that being accomplished, every other advantage will follow of course. The moment they are forced to retreat over the Meuse, the sooner they march to Vienna the better for them. I shall finish my remarks on the future extension of the French frontier to the river Rhine, with observing what an immense advantage would accrue to them (and also to the Brabanters) by a great river running along their frontier, *navigable* for a considerable distance, and *unfordable* for some *hundred miles*; a river which no prudent general would wish to pass either to attack Brabant or France, between the rivers Meuse and Moselle, or between the Moselle and that part of the Rhine from Landau until the Moselle runs into it. An attack over the Rhine on the country of Alsace I have also treated of, and shall not repeat it.

This

This Book has been considerably delayed in the Press from my having been confined to my house for a fortnight, and not able to go out to hurry the Printer, and attend to the correction of the Press: and, as events have taken place in Brabant since the day it was delivered to the Printer, namely, the 3d of November, for the satisfaction both of the Reader and myself, I am induced to mention that I read the whole of this book to my friend Dr. Moseley on the 3d of November, the day it was delivered to the Printer; and that Col. Bath, whose active services are well known in Brabant, at my request, did me the favour to call at my house when I was confined to my room, and permitted me to read it to him three or four days before the above-mentioned period, either on the last day of October, or the 1st of November, I cannot say which. It is with these Gentlemen's permission I bring forward their names.

The following observations on the intended march of the Duke of Brunswick to Paris I have finished at my leisure, as they have no connection with the foregoing part of this Book, but treat
only

only of operations that a long time past have been decided.

OF THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK'S INTENDED MARCH TO PARIS.

WHEN the Duke of Brunswick arrived at Coblentz, and took upon him the command of the Combined Forces, many persons in this country, from the high opinion they possessed of his well-known abilities, were so prepossessed even in his name, that France was, in their opinion, already conquered. The repute and renown of his military talents was so great, and in such high estimation, that his personal appearance even, I believe, would have been deemed sufficient, by many credulous people in this country, (they were so infatuated with his military character), that, had his Serene Highness alone rode booted and spurred into France, they would have imagined all the fortresses would have been delivered to him by a nod from his head; and that the whole French forces were to be vanquished and dispersed by the waive

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of his hand; and that, like unto the great Leviathan, when it appears on the ocean, not only the little fishes hide their heads, but the mighty whale seeks the shoal waters for safety.

Great as my respect and opinion was of his military character, I never was of that opinion; and can bring many public characters, of the strictest honour and veracity, to witness, that, from the very beginning, I thought it impossible for the Duke of Brunswick to feed an army on *so long* and *extensive* a line of operation. The following reasons I gave, which I acquired from the Works of General Lloyd, by whose military rules and observations I began seriously to investigate the intended march of the Duke of Brunswick to Paris*,

* Any person, who will give himself the trouble of studying General Lloyd's Description of the Frontier Line of France, will find how difficult it is to enter France; and, in other parts of his Works, he gives you many instances of all Generals having been foiled in their undertakings who have attempted to enter a country in the manner the Duke of Brunswick did, leaving all the fortresses on his rear untaken, and forced to act on *so long* a line of operation.

and

and by whose observations and instructions I was guided in that operation, and in every other on which I have written. I have observed that Coblentz, from whence the Duke of Brunswick first started, was nearly 300 miles from Paris, a distance so immense, that it was totally impossible for any army to be fed on so long *a line* of operation.

I hope the Reader will not suppose that I am so ignorant as to imagine that the Duke of Brunswick's army was to be supplied, had he arrived in the neighbourhood of Paris, from the place he first moved his troops from; but it must be acknowledged, that his army was supplied from the Rhine for a very considerable distance through the country of Luxembourg, until he arrived near Verdun, when he was at the extremity of his communication with the Moselle and the Meuse, I mean in that quarter. From Verdun he was to have proceeded to Paris, a distance of at least 130 miles, which was one line on which he might have fed his army, as he had no other resource for provisions but from the assistance of the Austrians

in Brabant; and that was the best way he could have fed his army, as there were too many obstacles, amounting almost to impossibilities, from the former quarter. These supplies must have come either from Tournay, Mons, or Namur, most probable from all. Judge only the distance of those places from Paris, and then determine on the difficulties he must have sustained to feed his army either by the assistance of the Austrians from Brabant, or from those parts of the rivers Meuse or Moselle, and the country of Luxembourg, by which he entered France.

When he arrived near Verdun, and every thing appeared for the moment in his favour, in the common course of conversation, in a *most respectable* company, I was asked my opinion. I said that great things might be expected from the known and proved military talents of the Duke of Brunswick; but, contrary to every military rule, he had passed into France, leaving many fortresses and every fortress untaken (nor had he even masked any one of them), that lay not only directly on his *line of operation*, but also both on the *right and left flank*

flank of his *line of operation*, which no other experienced General had ever attempted with success; and every General that had acted so imprudently had ever been foiled in his operations, according to General Lloyd's ideas (by whom I ever have and shall be guided). He gives various instances and proofs of the bad success and defeat of Generals who have acted in the like manner. I also went so far as to give it as my opinion, that if the Duke of Brunswick should be so fortunate, by a general action, totally to defeat and disperse the whole French army, and, by a forced march, move on to the neighbourhood of Paris, that, even after so successful an event, he never could remain any time at or near that Capital; for, as long as the French could keep any army in the field, although they should not be able to oppose his forward operations, yet, *by acting on his line of operation*, they would very shortly *force him to retreat for want of provisions*, and every military store requested for the support of such an army; for it was impossible he could carry all those requisites with him; to effect it, he must have had by far

more waggons than soldiers in his army, an idea too ridiculous to think of one moment, and which I should not have even mentioned, had not a person in a company where I was when I made the preceding observations answered in reply to me, that I might be assured the Duke of Brunswick would not want provisions, for at that moment he was moving on and carrying provisions with him for *the whole campaign*. I gave him no answer but left him to enjoy his absurd and impracticable idea. Although I have given my opinion on a transaction that is passed, yet I defy any reader ever so malicious to prove that I have advanced one single opinion now that I did not publicly express before the event took place; as I can bring many respectable public characters to vouch for the truth of my opinions, that they were the same before the events took place as I now have stated them. I claim no merit to myself, as my opinions were not founded on my own judgement: No; I was guided by those inestimable rules, examples, and instances laid down in our celebrated General's Works; and if any officer had read and studied them,

them, and applied them to the Duke of Brunswick's operations against France as studiously, and attentively as I have done, he would have been of the same opinion, and equally convinced with me, that the Duke had undertaken an operation which no General ever so skillful could have accomplished.

Having made several observations on what has passed, permit me to make a few military remarks on what might have happened if the Duke of Brunswick, instead of retreating, had been enabled to advance and proceed on his way to Paris. Every officer, I trust, will agree with me, that when he found Generals Dumourier and Kellerman strongly posted near St. Menhould, the Duke of Brunswick could never have attempted to prosecute his march towards Paris, leaving either General Dumourier's army or General Kellerman's in *his rear*, or on *either flank* of his *line of operation and communication*. If he had thus acted, they would have starved his army in a few days; what would he then have been obliged to have done?

done? he must have attacked General Dumourier and Kellerman, and have driven them from their strong positions. Had he attempted this, I am convinced, if he had succeeded in his attack, where the French had lost one thousand men, his army must have lost seven times that number; for every officer must know the great advantage even undisciplined troops have, and how well they will fight, when entrenched up to their chins in a strong fortified camp, and supported by a numerous and well served train of artillery, of which the French have the finest and the best served in the world. What would have been the result of this, had the Duke of Brunswick succeeded in his attack on General Dumourier's strong and well fortified position, and forced him from it? Why, most likely, General Dumourier would have lost some part of his heavy cannon, and have been forced to retreat perhaps twelve, fifteen, or twenty miles, and undoubtedly would have chosen some other strong position, and have thrown up entrenchments and temporary redoubts, which would have made his position just as strong perhaps as it was in the latter place.

place. The Duke of Brunswick must then have acted just in the same manner as he must have done in the former situation; for surely he never would dare to pass so large an army (or even any army of moderate force), and leave it in his rear, or on either of its flanks, for the reasons I have already mentioned. In this way he would have been obliged to have driven General Dumourier's army two or three times perhaps from different strong and fortified camps, before ever he could have approached near to Paris; by which time I may surely very fairly compute that, out of eighty thousand men, by battle, sickness, and desertion, he must have lost at least twenty thousand. On his arrival near Paris with sixty thousand men, he would have had to contend not only with General Dumourier's and Kellerman's armies, but with two hundred thousand armed Volunteer Citizens, who (when well entrenched), though undisciplined, in my opinion, are not to be sneezed at. Our army in America had a convincing proof of this at Bunker's Hill.

I have

I have pointed out, in my opinion, many great and insurmountable obstacles that the Duke of Brunswick had to encounter, and cannot find any one thing in his favour the least to counterbalance them, except the discipline of his veteran troops, and his own great abilities, and shall leave the Reader to form his judgement upon them.

Having written so much on military subjects, I request permission, to make some remarks on the French Revolution, the *present* state of this country, and what it might have been, had that Revolution not have taken place. I am astonished that there is to be found one single person in the whole British Nation, from the first nobleman to the poorest peasant that loves his native country, *who does not rejoice as much as I do* in the French Revolution. Were they not actuated by the same principles as I am (the pleasure and satisfaction of seeing not only the most despotick, most cruel, oppressive, and profuse government overturned, and liberty given to above 20 millions of souls), who, for ages, have groaned under the lash of the most oppressive tyranny),

tyranny), they ought at least, if true lovers of their country, to reflect on that dagger which that despotic government attempted to plunge in the vitals of their country, and which would have been accomplished had not the French Revolution taken place. I mean the positive assurances that intriguing court gave to the Ambassador of Tippoo Sultan, when at Paris, that if he would break with us in India, they pledged themselves to support him in India, and to declare war against England, who were never satisfied but when able to disturb the peace of Europe, which they have done for centuries past. Let every Englishman, who wishes well to his native land, look to the prosperous situation (at present) of this country, to the conquests made by Earl Cornwallis in the Indies, from the Sultan Tippoo breaking with us (never dreaming that a Revolution in France could take place); and, at the same time, let him reflect on the calamities that would have befallen, and the expences which must have been incurred by this nation, already too much impoverished. A general war with France and Spain in Europe and the West Indies; driven out of the

Carnatic by the assistance the French would have afforded the Sultan Tippoo; and confined in the East Indies to the possession of Bengal and Bombay; with the addition, perhaps, of near two hundred million more of debt (to a country already half ruined by the American war). To these distresses, perhaps with too much truth, I may suspect that a National Bankruptcy might have succeeded, which perhaps might have been followed by a total dissolution of the British Empire and Constitution. These are very serious points when we come to reflect on them; yet, to my astonishment, there are persons in this country, who do not approve of the French Revolution; but their numbers are but small when compared to the general sense of the Community at large, whom, I am certain, both approve and rejoice at it. I could enumerate many flagrant oppressions and injuries the French nation long endured; but, as it is not my intent to treat largely on politics in this Work, I shall briefly conclude with observing, that, had there been no other reason for the French throwing off their chains of Slavery, the arbitrary

arbitrary and unequal imposition of the *Taile*,
the infamies and cruelties of the *Lettres des*
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not only for them but any other nation in the
same predicament.

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